/114 cont./

with graveyard, the community house, festival houses, and, more recently, mission station and school are the central pole, whereas the family houses are always built in other places, but on one's own land (Ills. 146-147 /see p. 264/). Sometimes one erects a house merely for one harvest, that is, for half a year, in the middle of his field that is to be harvested. During the work and harvest it may then happen that a Paez family will not see its neighbors for several weeks.

The size of the villages varies; Calderas is one of the largest Paez /115/ communities and contains about 200 houses with approximately 1,000 inhabitants. Other villages, San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Lame, and others, are substantially smaller. In each case it takes considerable time to cross a village, because this means, of course, crossing the entire valley basin in question. In the case of Calderas this is more than three hours for a European on horseback. The Paez, it is true, travel over the steep short-cuts much more quickly on foot.

b) The House

For laying out a house one looks for a building spot as close as possible to a small brook, large numbers of which flow down from the slopes of the mountains and unite at the foot of the valley floor to form the Kokiyó River (literally "maize water"). When it is impossible to lay out a house directly on a brook, the water is led from above through a small ditch past the house. This, as well as any other running water, may always be drunk. It is known that the residents living above this house now and then urinate in the water, but "that does not matter at all," I was assured.

In principle, only one family, consisting of father, mother, and children, lives in a dwelling. The married sons must build their own houses. It is customary, however, for newlyweds to go on living in the house of the father for a time, until they have saved enough chicha and food to feed the friends who will help them build their house. In one case, however, in the house of

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building
is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
752 to the roof to prevent the eč or gélyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to
do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two
or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar
cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha
[461] that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six
months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

342 The most important thing in the construction of the house
335 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
[476] which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which
are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of
bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the
entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the
house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First
the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátsínda) are
erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side
posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third
step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

/176 cont./

623 himself does not punish. For this purpose four representatives of
666 the lower offices have an official whip which consists of a rod ten
696 centimeters long, with a plaited strap about 80 centimeters long.

The election itself proceeds with the introduction of the candi-
623 dates by the capitan with the question: "This one as gobernador,
624 do you want him?" And they reply: "We wish it" or "we do not
666 wish it." It was interesting to observe how, after the death of the capitan, one of his relatives, Cerbelión Guagáz, tried to be named capitan. The priest, however, insisted on an election by the village. And although he tried very hard to have Cerbelión elected, the village kept refusing him because he was too autocratic and such people are not liked. Another whom everyone would like to have as capitan is himself unwilling. "As capitan I am only the beadle of the padre," he replied to my question as to why he did not accept the choice. And he had no desire for that. He had been comisario once and gobernador once, and now he wanted peace for the rest of his life.

2) Family Organization

• 594 The family of the Paez is basically the patrilineal nuclear family /Kleinfamilie/ consisting of the parents and unmarried
[513] children. The latter, while they are small, sleep with the parents in the kitchen; as soon as they are larger, in a compartment in
591 another part of the house. After marriage they erect their own house.
596 It is not uncommon, however, for the married sons to live with their wives for another year or two in the house of the father, until they have enough money for a house, which will be small at first. The daughters upon marriage leave /177/ the paternal home and then live with their husbands, that is to say, at first with the parents-in-law.

354 Normally, therefore, every house has only one cooking
596 place, in which the woman of the house cooks. If a son marries,
252 a new kitchen is partitioned off and a second place built for the
[462] fire at which the young wife cooks. As a matter of principle, each married couple -- and it alone -- has its own fire area, for the wife is always responsible for the food, Men do not Cook.

/177 cont./

the wife is always responsible for the food. Men do not cook. Old, solitary persons or unmarried girls or men live with relatives or friends, but never alone, since a single person is unable either to protect himself or to provide for himself adequately.

The father's authority is great. Wife and children owe him absolute obedience. Nevertheless, the man does not have the right to alienate personal articles of members of the family or possessions that they made themselves. Thus, for example, he is not in a position to sell a coca bag or a fiber bag belonging to his wife or his children's toys.

The children are given the family name of the father, but the women keep their maiden names even after marriage. There is no external indication in dress or hair style or otherwise for unmarried girls and married women. The wife is obligated to work for her husband and children in her family. Beyond that she may procure personal belongings for herself by weaving cloth beyond the needs of her family, for example, and trading it for ornaments.

If the young people are still living in the house with their parents, the daughter-in-law is not absolutely subordinate to her mother-in-law, although this appears to be so, to judge from the speech at the wedding ceremony. A relationship of dependence is out of the question because of the separate kitchens. Usually, however, mother-in-law and daughter-in-law are on good terms, and then it is not uncommon for only one woman to cook for both families, for there is no in-law avoidance. Then the two women share the work of cleaning the house.

Conjugal fidelity is demanded of both marriage partners; in the case of the man, however, it is sometimes not taken so seriously. If a man surprises his wife, however, or she her husband, in marital infidelity, the deceived party may beat (but not kill) both and report them to the cabildo, which again has the guilty party very soundly thrashed.

Illegitimate children are not rare among the Paez. In case an unmarried girl has a child, she is beaten by her parents and

/315 cont./

105 "Araucanian" type (O'Neale, p. 115). In place of the shed rod we have a simple loop; in place of the heddle rod, a bundle of loops.
105 The warp threads are stretched in the form of the "false spiral warp,"
286 a mixture of the method of the continuous, circular warp with the
171 method of the terminating flat warp. This genuinely American way of stretching the warp is found among the Northwest Coast Indians as well as among the tribes of the Gran Chaco (Olson, pp. 114-121). Culture-historically H. Nevermann regards the various forms of American weaving /316/ as having originated on the basis of a native or pre-Polynesian plait-weaving. Among the Paez we find this technical stage in the plait-weaving of the carrying bands of the coca bags.

105 For dyeing, vegetable dyes are used, which dye only sheep wool, but not cotton.

Pottery is very simple. There are only hemispherical pots and bowls made with the spiral coil technique, both without any ornamentation.

The present political organization of the Paez is based on the village community. It is led by a village council (cabildo), whose members are chosen for a year from among the men of the village. The designations for the members of the cabildo and their functions are in part Spanish. In former times the leaders of the Paez were
[621] often men with shamanistic abilities. The village is not organized
[565] by either classes or occupations. No one need serve another for
[463] pay; the word and the thing are unknown to the Paez. The father
[464] of the family with his sons or brothers works his fields, and if
[476] friends or neighbors lend their help, it is compensated for by assistance in their fields.

● [594] The family organization is basically the patrilineal,
[178] monogomous nuclear family, consisting of the parents and the
[951] unmarried children. Here there has probably been the least
[533] change in Paez culture. The children are given the family of the father. For her marriage the woman receives no dowry of any kind from her parents, and she keeps her maiden name. Since there are no social or financial reasons for concluding a marriage, a woman has only the merit of her personality and abilities. These are tested during a "trial year" before the actual conclusion of the marriage.

/187 cont./

583 says the youth after he has conferred upon the parents-in-law
[584] bottles of aguardiente and calabashes of chicha according to his means. The parents always accede to the request.

At midnight he goes off with her to the house of his parents, if he does not have one of his own. They will live together for several months, one year, two...; during this time he will find out whether the woman can cook, grind maize, carry water and firewood, weave ponchos and /188/ pouches, and he will become familiar with her fidelity, temperament, and
583 character. Only then will he look for a sponsor /padrino/,
585 seek out the priest, take communion and receive the nuptial
[608] blessing, and return to his house, where the bubbling troughs of chicha, the savory "mute" /maize stew/ boiling in the pot, the crude guitars and the pleasing chirimías /a kind of orchestra/ will complete the sealing of the union. They will go through the night, and sometimes days as well, drinking, eating, and dancing.

462 The building of the house on the land of his property will
● 594 soon follow. Gradually, the man will furnish it with pangopil
[342] for sitting, crude plates and spoons for eating, pots for cooking, hides and sometimes raised platforms for sleeping, a sugar mill to mill the juicy cane; he will bring water from distant sources, provide troughs in order to ferment chicha, purchase machetes, axes, and picks to work the land, plant bananas, sugar cane, onions, and cabbages in his garden; he will put together the barzos where he will keep the bundles of wheat, the ears /caspas/ of maize, the mulberry-colored beans; he will acquire a dog and also -- why not? it has been his ambition and his hope -- he will buy cattle for the fiestas and a horse to race for San Juan and to operate the sugar mill. The woman, on her part, will tend the guinea pigs, breed her chickens and turkeys, look after the pigs so they will not be lost, shear the sheep, weave her yaha gwala (fique bags) for carrying the compact ears of maize, the rustling beans, and the green cabbages

4:Bernal Villa--15 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/188 cont./

462 from the plantings; she will laboriously make the multicolored
594 kuetand yahas which she will give as tokens of love to her hus-
[257] band. The children, who "are a blessing of God," will come and help the man work the land or lighten the woman's kitchen chores.

594 The household lends individuality, a sociological frame-
183 work, status, and function to the family. Land, a house, and a family are specific ambitions of the Paez people. Possibly they represent their most cherished ideals in life.

IV

Live Ritual Fire

372 In the mind of every individual, and in the spirit of the family, fire is a symbol, a symbol of the house and of the home. A house without fire is a dead, abandoned house.

372 In ancient times, when the Pijao went about spreading
773 terror and death, when the caciques came down on the /189/ /illustration appears here/ roaring waters of the great rivers beneath the imposing dark night sprinkled with stars, and even much earlier, the Indians began their daily round by requesting fire from an old, white-haired woman. This fire died out when night spread its dark cloak over the world. Only the old woman's fire was immortal. The monotony of this daily request for fire was transmuted into anguish when the wicked old woman decided to leave and take the fire with her in a piece of wood. They all ran after her, seized the firebrand, and obtained fire from it for all the Indian households. This fire could be preserved.

Thus run the mythical accounts of the origin of fire. They reflect its importance. The manner in which it is preserved, the care which is exercised so that a fire is always /190/ burning in the house, seem to be superstitious attitudes from an ancient

The people of
/356 cont./

43 Mosoco have numerous droves of pack animals for handling the
628 import and export traffic, in which the Guambianos (with their
492 horses), called kasukos by the people of Mosoco, who regard them as good friends and not very different from themselves, also participate. The fact is that they live together, work together, and do their trading jointly.

563 The relations between "whites" and natives in Mosoco
621 seem to be cordial and based on mutual respect.

Family economy

● 594 The Paez family is basically an economic unit. It is made up of the parents and the children, and it represents a
[602] closed but effective circle. They do not go beyond their own
[476] limits in any way, so that the mingas and the distribution of the
[431] first fruits of the harvests are carried out primarily with consanguineal and political relations.

594 The manner in which this economic unit functions and in
462 which its members collaborate can be clearly understood from the division of the activities by sex. The supreme management of the family economy rests in the hands of the man; it is he who owns the land, the house, the tools, and the domestic animals. His arm has not been taught to wield anything but the machete, the axe, and the shovel. He is the owner of the crops and the one who determines where, how, and when work is to be done. His primary work is outside the house: on the land itself. The woman, on /357/ the other hand, remains inside the house, and her basic work is connected with the administration and working up of the products handed over to her by the man. Cooking and
[464] weaving are her specialities. It is true that the woman hires
[178] herself out as a day laborer on the fincas of the "whites" and that in some parcialidades, such as Mosoco, she participates directly in the preparation of the land and the weeding of the crops, but this is a relatively new phenomenon and is not yet universally accepted among the natives.

261 In general terms, the primary incentive for economic activity
594 dealing with food is the satisfaction of the basic needs of the individual and the survival of the family group. It is the security

/357 cont./

261 that is provided by having what is to be consumed. An abundance
594 of guarapo and maize undoubtedly gives them great gratification. When these products are abundant the religious fiestas, mingas, and "entertainments" are good, the natives say, and they describe at great length the incidents as they unfold.

178 But, in spite of the fact that the work capacity of the in-
241 dividual is acknowledged, that the possession of domestic animals
433 lends a certain prestige within the group, and that the abundance
[554] of food and guarapo brings gratification, the agricultural cycle
[231] remains stationary within the lineaments of time, of the systems of labor, and of the quantity of seed. They produce essentially
178 for consumption. The stimulation of prestige does not exist. In
433 many parcialidades, the habits of a capitalistic economy are openly
[754] combated by the sorcerers (32). Nevertheless, we have already

32. Bernal Villa, S. op. cit., p. 256.

had the opportunity to state that the introduction of the cultivation of coffee (temperate zone), the development of livestock-raising and of the cultivation of potatoes in Mosoco, and the creation of settlement areas in the very heart of the native parcialidades are rapidly modifying all of the institutions of Páez culture. The family economy of self-provisioning and of small barter operations is changing perceptibly into a purely money economy. By the same process the routine monotony is disappearing from production and is being replaced by new techniques of work, a greater quantity of production, and a greater volume of trade.

434 In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Lame, and San Andrés, we
121 made an investigation of familial income and expenses /358/ for
124 the year 1953, on the basis of questionnaires prepared by the Comisión de Planeamiento de la Seguridad Social Campesina of the Ministerio del Trabajo, questionnaires that were filled out by us for the said commission with reference to Tierradentro.

?tHemández de Alba E-8, ✓ (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

The *Pdez* family is completely under the authority of the father, whose wife and children obey him implicitly and may be punished by him. Nonetheless, the father must obtain his wife's permission to sell or exchange goods she produced, such as bags for coca, sashes, etc. Precise etiquette is maintained between fathers and godfathers (compadres). Whenever a man meets his father or his godfather, he must kneel to receive his blessing. The fathers and godfathers must embrace whenever they meet. In one case a young man was the godfather of his father's new son by another wife, so that in meeting his father the young man had to kneel bareheaded, and then stand with his hat on and embrace his father as a godparent. The father did not call him "son" but "compadre."

594 ● [425] 608 576

LIFE CYCLE

Childbirth.—A very old custom among these peoples is that at childbirth the mother should retire to a special house or go to the mountains. If she was delivered in the home, she and the baby were bathed, and then the family left the hut and built a new one elsewhere.

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Today both the *Moguex* and *Pdez* have a special hut for childbirth. The day after the child is born, the mother is placed in a hole up to her head and bathed with an infusion of leaves of "moquita," after which she washes the clothes and objects worn during delivery. She then returns to work and lives again at home. In the special hut, a *Pdez* woman is assisted in childbirth by another woman, or, as a last resort, by her husband, who must bathe immediately afterward. Two days later, the mother circumcises her son or destroys the virginity of her daughter. Four or five days after the birth and after the first bath, the father takes the child to the sacristan of the community for baptism with water, and then returns it to the mother. The afterbirth must be buried or burned at the place of the birth. About 15 days later, the mother takes a bath and washes her child and her clothes and objects, and returns home. Later, the child is baptized with oil in the church by the priest with the godparents present. This is an occasion for general dancing and drunkenness.

846 [757] [343] [844] [304] [85] [844] [851] [608]

Puberty.—At puberty a girl was formerly taken by her parents to a hill, placed in a hole, and bathed. Each Indian then took her a gift. Pittier de Fábrega (1907) notes that at a later period a girl's puberty was celebrated with the "Itsa-kó" dance, the girl, bathed with chicha, remaining in the hole. Today, a woman must retire during her menstrual periods to a special hut, where other women bring her food and build a fire to warm her. Afterward, she bathes, washes her clothes and objects, and then returns home.

881 [431] [535] 841 343

Men, until recently, underwent a sort of initiation, in which they were taken to the shores of the sacred lagoon of Juan Tama or to the

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8: Bernal Villa--18 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

/178 cont./

The Family

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The social group par excellence in Páez culture is the nuclear family. Its importance stands out if we consider that the Páez live dispersed within their geographic area. Both the chroniclers and the parish priests who concerned themselves with them emphasize this characteristic. In 1751 the priest of Tálaga, Licenciado Eugenio del Castillo y Orozco, wrote in his report to Don Juan Francisco de Eguizaval, Governor and Captain General of the city of Popayán and its provinces, "that by command of his Illustrious Lordship Don Francisco José de Figueredo y Victoria on the Council of His Majesty, currently Bishop of this Diocese, I reported to the Governor previous to your Lordship, stating that since the year 1719, when I was in these Provinces assisting as interpreter for the Very Excellent Don Pedro Felipe García, then inspector for them, and afterwards in 1731 the same for Dr. D. Francisco Gómez Constantino, I learned that the Indians of this province had been inclined to live dispersed at various distances and only sat together at drinking parties in the homes of their Caciques or Capataces when they came from some Riria (which they call Necue) or to celebrate the first menstruation of a woman (which they call Izacó) or for another cause for vain observance, and, after finishing, they again separate" (3). Multiple efforts were made by the

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3. Archivo Nacional de Bogotá. "Cartas de contrabando /Contraband Letters/," Vol. 14, Fol. 228.

parish priests and by the governors of the colonial period to "reducirlos a vida sociable" /reduce them to a social life/, but the "bárbara naturaleza" /barbarous nature/ of these natives made their efforts fruitless. And this cultural trait is still

/178 cont./
177 effectively maintained (4). In each house, scattered over the
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4. Bernal Villa, S. "La fiesta de San Juan en Calderas Tierradentro /The fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, Tierradentro/," 1953, p. 182.

In each house, scattered over the
● 594 ruggedness of the prominences, live a pair of adults of the op-
[361] posite sex and their children. It is this nuclear family that cares for and maintains its old parents and attends to their burial when they die, that completes the religious festivals with traditional pomp and rigor (5), that defends its /179/ interests from the

5. Ibid., pp. 192 ff.

attacks of strangers, that in former times celebrated the "Riria" (which they call Necue) (6) or the first menstruation of a woman

6. In the Vocabulario Páez-Castellano /Spanish-Páez Vocabulary/ of del Castillo y Orozco there is the word Nécue, which has the following textual definition: desaffo; pelea que es un desaffo solemne tan antiguo como el jentilismo entre los páeces, de dos campeones cada uno con el común de su bando /competition, a fight that is a solemn competition as old as paganism among the Paez, of two champions, each one with the community of his faction/.

(which they call Izacó), and, finally, that manufactures its troughs for chicha ("another cause for vain observance," of which del Castillo y Orozco speaks) in order to carry out the "bebezones"
594 /drinking parties/ with all who seek to participate. It is this
574 nuclear family that "cuida" /takes care of/ relatives who arrive,
609 that offers hospitality to the native traveler and that shows cold silence toward the visitor from Western culture.

/179 cont./

●594 Associated with the nuclear family primordially are the functions of reproduction, the rearing of children, and the education of the latter. On procreation depends also the importance of economic functions.

581 589 [183] [842] [775] The orientation of the sexual instinct is a secondary end. Indeed, Páez culture demands that every individual form a family, once he has acquired the capacity for procreation. In the parcialidad of Calderas they look upon children as a blessing from God, regarding celibates "como violadores de la cruz" /as violators of the cross/(marriage); celibacy is condemned, in the rationalization that the person who dies celibate goes to the [754] Nevado del Huila, considered by them as hell. The celibacy of a woman is exceptional, and when it occurs they believe that she becomes a witch. They think something similar about some 581 589 widows. One woman of some fifty years of age says that "marriage is fundamental and obligatory, for the grandfathers 775 used to say that to a woman who is not married the devil gives a black dog for a husband in hell" (7). Another woman declared

[825] 7. They regarded white dogs as companions and guides in the future life and fear that "if molested they will come out and bite them at the entrance to the future abode."

that at times she feels sorrow for the death of an unmarried daughter, "because the devil would give her a husband."

581 183 [582] [842] The culture considers it an obligation of parents to marry off their daughters even if they are very young. Furthermore the young men aspire to "build their house, marry, produce children, have animals, coca in abundance, and sugar cane for their chicha" (8). The incentive to marry is to have children,

8. Bernal Villa, S. 1953, op. cit., p. 183.

for which purpose it is necessary to have assurance /180/ that the woman is fecund.

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162 583 595 Lame: 8 families (6.2% of the approximate total of Lame families). 87.5% were married first by the Church; 12.5% practiced the amaño.

184 Mosoco: 26 families (10.4% of the approximate total of families in Mosoco). 88.1% followed the Catholic law; 11.6% practiced the amaño.

Although the percentages for the parcialidades of San Andrés and Lame may not reflect fully the real situation concerning the custom owing to the paucity of data, one can clearly see the vigor that it still has in Calderas, a parcialidad less acculturated, 581 of course, than the others. Once the man is convinced of the ● 594 fertility of his mate, the marriage is legalized at the altar of the [585] Catholic Church. Then the economic co-operation of the spouses, initiated at the beginning of their married life, is stabilized and gains strength, and the marriage becomes, as one of our informants remarked, an association for the "mutual benefit of the contracting parties, to serve each other, without in any way 594 being a burden to either of them." The man enlarges his clear- 462 ings in order to take care of "the sustenance of the family," plants sugar cane and coca in order to obtain chicha and narcotic for holding mingas /work parties/, in order to celebrate religious festivals, in order to "cuidar" his relatives and to relax with his friends; he hires himself out as a peon /182/ in order to acquire money and to buy shawls for his wife, wool and cloth that the woman makes into camisas for herself, her husband, and her sons, and trousers for these last, begins to build his house, if he does not have one, on the lot that his father has assigned to him, to make a home for his family. The woman, on her part, administers the products that her husband brings to her, weaves the ruana /poncho/ and kuetand-yaha (mambe pouch /a bag for the ingredients of chews/) for the husband and children, prepares the food, raises hens and pigs, and cares for her children less than three years old (13). In this manner, among the Páez, marriage,

13. For the division of activities according to sex, see our work "Economía de los Páez /Economy of the Paez/," /published in the

/182 cont./

13. (cont.)
Revista Colombiana de Antropología, Vol. III, 1954.

In this manner, among the Paez, marriage, family, land, and house form an intimate unit, indissoluble and in part explaining the above-mentioned phenomenon of the reluctance to live grouped in towns or cities.

Basically the residence of the nuclear family is patrilocal-neolocal. When the man, accompanied by his escort, goes to ask for his future consort, and, after certain definite formalities are fulfilled, the future parents-in-law hand her over, she is taken to live in the house of his parents (when he has not built his own). In it he arranges a separate room with a kitchen for cooking, a cowhide to sleep on, and space in which to keep their provisions, their kitchen utensils, and work tools. The new spouses are independent of their respective parents. The man assists in the work of his parents-in-law and the woman in the work of hers, but in neither case does it constitute an obligation for them. When a bachelor, the man works to take care of his own needs and to assist in the support of the paternal economy; once married he works to support his family.

The man chooses his wife within the parcialidad, although he may marry women from other parcialidades. But neither men nor women may marry persons from Western culture ("whites"). In Calderas there was a case of a possible marriage between a native woman and a "white." The cabildo removed this possibility, obliging the native woman to marry a member of the parcialidad. If it is a man who wishes to try to marry a "white" woman, he must leave the village. They consider that when the "whites" enter the community, they invariably appropriate their land.

The selection of spouses within the parcialidades is /183/ determined by the laws of incest. Unions between parents and children and real brothers and sisters are incestuous and severely prohibited. Also relations between cousins of the first degree of both lines and those of uncles and nieces are condemned, although not

prescribed.

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stereotyped conduct. It should nevertheless be stated that the present-day Páez surnames were still given names in the eighteenth century, chosen capriciously by the mother and not transmissible to the descendants (14). The adoption of surnames and their heritability through the paternal line is the result of the doctrinal work of the Catholic missionaries, and their assimilation and integration into Páez culture must have been carried out in accordance with certain aspects of a sociological nature existing previously. The same /an unpaginated genealogical chart appears here/ /185/ present-day monogamy of the Páez appears to be the result of a strong Catholic Christian influence, since in pre-Colombian times they were polygamous (15).

14. Castillo y Orozco, E. de., op. cit., p. 75.

15. Hernández de Alba, Gr. "The Highland Tribes of Southern Colombia," 1946, p. 948.

The supreme authority in the nuclear family rests with the father; when he is missing, with the mother; and, when both are missing, with the most intelligent of the group. The husband orders, the woman only asks. The woman is always under the control of the man: the father, the brother, the husband. She has no liberty of movement. The cabildo has authority over orphaned women, including that of having them marry. One of our informants in Calderas was a fatherless orphan and had been brought up in Avirama in the company of her stepfather. Being of age, an Avirameño asked for her in marriage, but the cabildo of Calderas stopped the marriage, brought her back to the parcialidad, made her spend the night in the quarters of the cabildo, and on the following day made her marry a lad of 14 whom she did not know. Since she resisted, they beat her, admonishing her at the same time that if she did not do it, she would be married to a black dog in the future life. "There being

[text continues on p. 33]

8: Bernal Villa

SC15 Paez SC15

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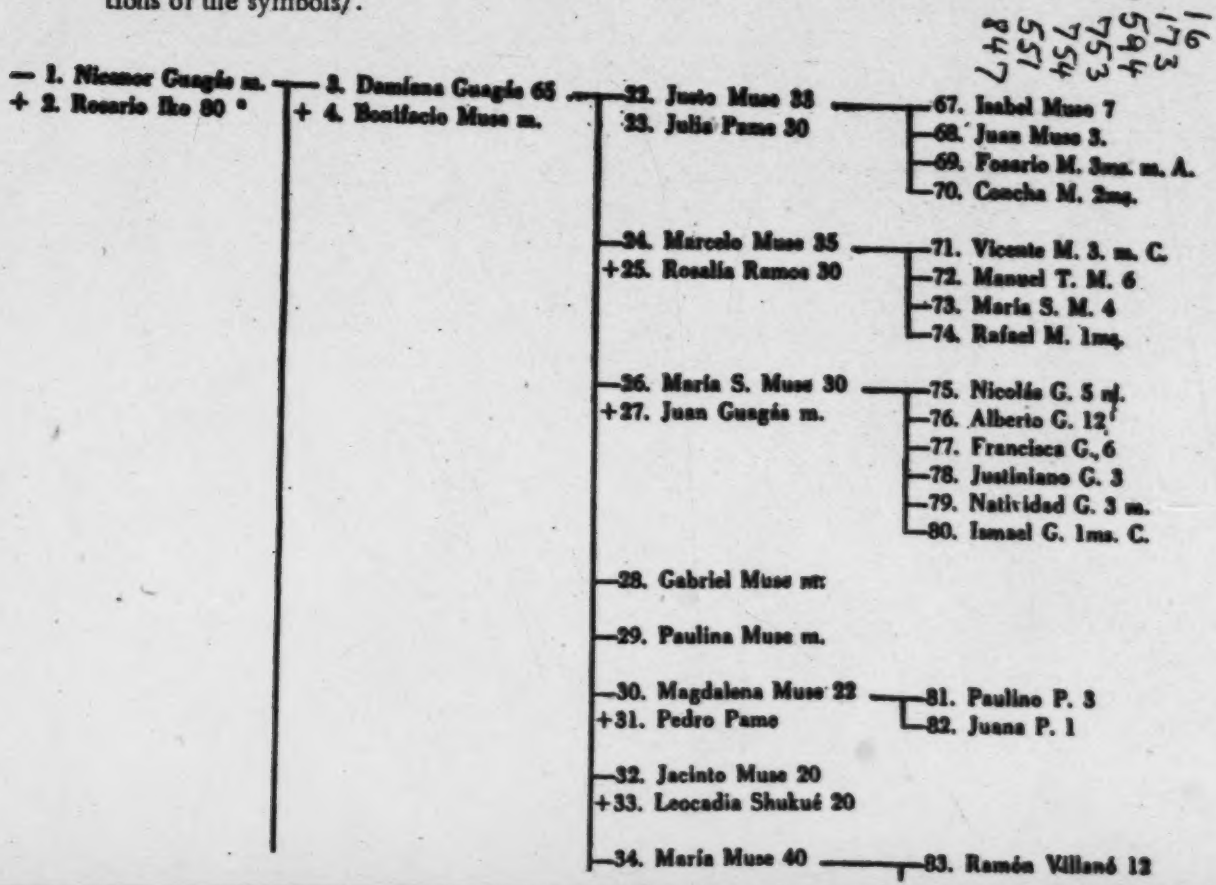
Chart of Positions of the Nicanor Guagás family's Genealogy.
/Following p. 27/

Genealogy of the family of Nicanor Guagás, parcialidad of Calderas. It includes several nuclear families which live in different places in the parcialidad /see p. 32 for the explanations of the symbols/.


1. Nicanor Guagás m.
+ 2. Rosario Iko 80 °
3. Damiana Guagás 65
+ 4. Bonifacio Muse m.
22. Justo Muse 38
23. Julia Pame 30
67. Isabel Muse 7
68. Juan Muse 3.
69. Rosario M. 3ma. m. A.
70. Concha M. 2mq.
24. Marcelo Muse 35
+25. Rosalía Ramos 30
71. Vicente M. 3. m. C.
72. Manuel T. M. 6
73. María S. M. 4
74. Rafael M. 1mq.
26. María S. Muse 30
+27. Juan Guagás m.
75. Nicolás G. 5 m.
76. Alberto G. 12
77. Francisca G. 6
78. Justiniano G. 3
79. Natividad G. 3 m.
80. Ismael G. 1ma. C.
28. Gabriel Muse m:
29. Paulina Muse m.
30. Magdalena Muse 22
+31. Pedro Pame
81. Paulino P. 3
82. Juana P. 1
32. Jacinto Muse 20
+33. Leocadia Shukué 20
34. María Muse 40
83. Ramón Villaná 12

8: Bernal Villa--28 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

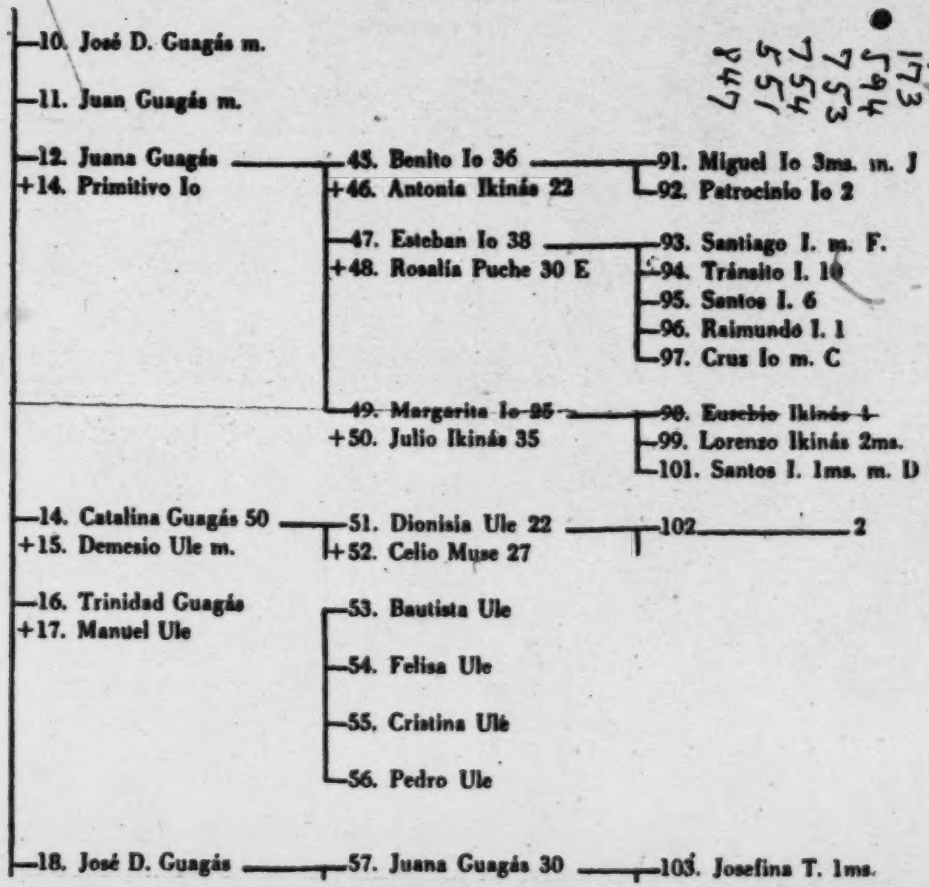
[Parcialidad of Calderas]

8: Bernal Villa--29 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

16 173 594 753 454 551 447

- 34. María Muse 40
  - +35. José Villanó 40
    - 83. Ramón Villanó 12
    - 84. Juana Villanó 8
    - 85. María S. V. 7
    - 86. Marcelino V. 3
    - 87. Alfonso V. 3 m. H
  - 36. Delfina Muse 23 E
    - +37. Venancio Guagás 25
      - 88. Jacinto Guagás 6
      - 89. Isabel G. 8ms.
- 5. Nicolasa Guagás 38
- + 6. Manuel Guagás m.
  - 38. Marcelina Guagás 22
    - +39. Alfonso Tova 30
      - 90. Magdalena Tova 2
  - 40. Gregoria Guagás
  - 41. Agustina Guagás
  - 42. Virginia Guagás
  - 43. Manuel J. Guagás 10
- 7. Raimundo Guagás 35
- + 8. María J. Pame 27
  - 44 ——— 2
- 9. Pascual Guagás m.
- 10. José D. Guagis m.
- 11. Juan Guagis m.
- 12. Juana Guagás
- +14. Primitivo Io
  - 45. Benito Io 36
    - +46. Antonia Ikinás 22
      - 91. Miguel Io 3ms. in. J
      - 92. Patrocinio Io 2



8: Bernal Villa--30 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

16 173 5944 7553 5547 847

8: Bernal Villa--31 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955
SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderon]

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55. Cristina Ulè
56. Pedro Ule

18. José D. Guagás
+19. Jacinta Muse

57. Juana Guagás 30
+58. Narciso Tumbo 40

103. Josefina T. 1ms.
104. Alejandro T. 5 m. B
105. Rufina T. 1ms. m. C
106. Floro T. 4 m. D
107. Cruz T. 1ms. m. A

59. Aurelio Guagás 35
+60. Vicenta Kuskue 30.

108. Pedro Guagás 2

61. Marcelino Guagás 50.
+62. Trinidad Puche 50

109. Feliciano G. 1ms. m.
110. Bruno G. 25
111. Magdalena G. 20
112. Ramón G. 10
113. Agustín G. 1ms. m.
114. Felisa G. 1ms. m.

63. Quiterio Guagás
+64. Petrona Pame

65. Martina Guagás 27
+66. Rufino Ikinás 30

115. Julio Ikinás 10
116. Gregoria I. 8
117. Pascual I. 4 m.

20. A woman m.

21. A woman m.

8: Bernal Villa--32 E-5 (1953-1954) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

[Parcialidad of Calderas]

Explanations for the symbols of the chart on pp. 28-31./

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*The parents of Rosario Iko were called Agustín Guagás and Concepción Iko, the latter a native of Cuetando. Rosario bears the surname of the mother because of being married to a Guagás.

A. Stung by Echi

B. Poisoned

C. Bewitched.

D. Whooping cough.

E. An abortion.

F. Smallpox.

G. Hernia.

H. Duende.

J. Plague.

m. dead.

ms. months.

/186 cont./

237 Should an unfaithful wife conceive a child by a man
851 racially white and the husband not be aware of it, the latter considers it his child even if it should inherit the characteristics of its progenitor. He will simply observe, "Why do my children come like this?" His wife answers him, "I don't know; it may
581 be echi or Pijao." In general marriages are well established and
593 stable, in spite of the fact that occasional tensions may arise between spouses. Divorce is unknown among the Páez. Extinction
586 of marriages by separation or the abandonment of one of the spouses is rare. In Calderas they can count on the fingers of one hand the cases where a man has abandoned his wife. "This is very ugly in a person, it should never happen," comments a woman. Cases in which a woman abandons the husband are much rarer still, being bitterly criticized when they occur.

● 594 The mother has the obligation to feed and care for her
854 children up to when they can leave home. Labor which she
[853] truly performs with love and care. The children suckle until they are two years old and even up to three, a period during which she never leaves them at any time. She cradles them on her breast or in the hammock and carries them on her shoulders,
594 attending to them lovingly whenever they cry. The father looks
867 after his boys from the time that they gain complete mastery of
[593] the biped state, without this making him less loving toward his daughters. Then he begins to take his sons everywhere.

During religious festivals they sit at his side, participate in the conversation of their elders, and are served food and
[273] drink in the same way as their elders. In Calderas and in /187/ San Andrés we had the opportunity to observe children five years old reeling under the effects of chicha and aguardiente. At this age, when they begin to take part in the economic life of the family group, the father teaches them to chew coca. The father conscientiously performs this labor of endoculturation.

597 We have not come across any cases of adopted children.
736 When both parents die, the children stay in the home of the nearest relative.

593 The conduct of the children toward their parents is that of deep respect. Nevertheless, in Calderas we witnessed the verbal